around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid rousing suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Chinese

Be 532 BeBa [532] [774]

tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

Be 532 353

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Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the monastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

592 444 562

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 more fortunate than his Malay congener in possessing a tail, but asserts relationship with that animal in the possession of a horny hook, with this difference, that the hard excrescence is at the end of a tail of fair dimensions instead of being humbly situated on the rump, as is the case with the Straits tabby.

235 There are always some tame villatic fowl about the house. If the householder does not aspire to the ownership of a taik-kyet, a regular game cock, bred for the purpose, he has at least a kyet-hpa, an ordinary cock of combative instincts, and backs him against his neighbour's when occasion offers, through the absence of the constable, by chance, or by the influence of pecuniary profit acting on a sporting disposition. A cock that declines to fight under any circumstances is called a kyet nyaung-gan, and stands in great danger of dying suddenly and being converted into curry. Hens are regarded with indifference except in view of similar possibilities, for their eggs are of no use. A fowl may be killed by accident by a stick thrown at random, but the germ of life in an egg cannot die unless it is boiled or goes rotten. In the former case the boiler incurs mortal danger from breaking one of the Five Precepts; in the latter the egg
223 is undesirable. In small villages almost every one keeps a tè-gyet, a decoy cock, for luring the wild jungle-fowl. The fore-doomed hunter kills the game, and the pious owner of the decoy bird gets a good dinner. Similarly tè-gyo, pigeons, are bred specially as lures, and so are partridges. Ordinary pigeons, occasionally used for the same purpose, go by the
231 name of gyo ta-nyin. Caged birds are not very common as
779 pets, though every here and there one comes across a hill
444 Mina, who has acquired a fair knowledge of the vernacular, and astonishes passers-by with the unceremonious way in which he hails them. But the Buddhist religion condemns keeping animals in confinement. So much is this the case that in Mandalay, and here and there in other places, there are men who make a regular living by catching birds and selling them to the pious, that they may gain merit by setting them free. Crafty birdcatchers are able so far to disable the bird, without doing it any material or visible harm, that they can catch it again immediately after their tender-hearted
Customer has gone his way.

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molesaum. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analyzing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

796 And, '*My mother!* what a lot of sweet rice! Who
735 gave that? Oh, I see old U Hman.' 'I wonder
792 what's in that tin box?' remarked one as he passed my biscuits. 'I hope it's coming to our monastery, any way.'

Thus the monks passed, paying no sort of attention, while the people knelt to them; and when the procession reached the end of the line of offerings, it went on without stopping, across the fields, the monks of each monastery going to their own place; and the givers of presents rose up and followed them, each carrying his or her gifts. And so they went across the fields till each little procession was lost to sight.

796 That was all the ceremony for the day, but at dusk the illuminations began. The little pagoda in the fields was lighted up nearly to its top with concentric rings of lamps till it blazed like a pyramid of flame, seen far across the night. All the people came there, and placed little offerings of flowers at the foot of the pagoda, or added each his candle to the big illumination.

The house of the headman of the village was lit up with a few rows of lamps, and all the monasteries, too, were lit. There were no restaurants—every-
● [444] one was at home, you see—but there were one or two little stalls, at which you could buy a cheroot, or even perhaps a cup of vermicelli; and there was
796 a dance. It was only the village girls who had
535 been taught, partly by their own mothers, partly by an old man, who knew something of the business. They did not dance very well, perhaps; they were none of them very beautiful; but what matter?

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

nearly every house there will be a loom, where the wife or daughter weaves for herself or for sale. But many men weave also, and the finest silks are all woven by men. I once asked a woman why they did not weave the best silks, instead of leaving them all to the men.

'Men do them better,' she said, with a laugh. 'I tried once, but I cannot manage that embroidery.'

They also work in the fields—light work, such as weeding and planting. The heavy work, such as ploughing, is done by men. They also work on the roads carrying things, as all Oriental women do. It is curious that women carry always on their heads, men always on their shoulders. I do not know why.

But the great occupation of women is petty trading. I have already said that there are few large merchants among the Burmese. Nearly all the retail trade is small, most of it is very small indeed, and practically the whole of it is in the hands of the women.

Women do not often succeed in any wholesale trade. They have not, I think, a wide enough grasp of affairs for that. Their views are always somewhat limited; they are too penny-wise and pound-foolish for big businesses. The small retail trade, gaining a penny here and a penny there, just suits them, and they have almost made it a close profession.

This trade is almost exclusively done in bazaars. In every town there is a bazaar, from six till ten each morning. When there is no town near, the bazaar will be held on one day at one village and on another at a neighbouring one. It depends on the

572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
●444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods! In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYANGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DANUBYU. But by the time they reached TAMOOK he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-MEE.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TABODWE. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the rainy the ground is wet for game cock-fighting

1 [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]